

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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P R 241937Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 227

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 8804

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: TEXT OF DRAFT PRESS BACKGROUNDER
BY ALLIED SPOKESMAN

LIMDIS - MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

1. THE FOLLOWING TEXT HAS BEEN DEVELOPED WITHIN US DELEGATION
AS BASIS FOR PRESS BRIEFING TO BE GIVEN BY ALLIED SPOKESMAN IN
VIENNA (NETHERLANDS REP - AMB. QUARLES) ON OCTOBER 31 IMMEDIATELY
FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF OPENING STATEMENTS. DRAFT IS SUBJECT
TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN AD HOC GROUP.

BEGIN TEXT:

DRANT REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES
(FOLLOWING OPENING PLENARIES)

1. THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE
REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE BEGAN FORMALLY ON OCTOBER 30.
WE ARE PLEASED THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN, AND
BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE GOT OFF TO A GOOD START.

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2. BEFORE COMMENTING FURTHER ON THE OPENING SESSIONS, LET ME REMIND YOU OF THE BACKGROUND OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY RESULT FROM AN INITIATIVE OF THE WESTERN ALLIES, WHO HAVE LONG ADVOCATED MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO MODERATE THE CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN JUNE 1968, THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS CALLED ON THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO JOIN IN NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE USSR DID NOT AT THAT TIME RESPOND, AND THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE WORSENEED QUICKLY THROUGH DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN AUGUST 1968. THE WEST PERSISTED, HOWEVER, IN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN THEIR ROME DECLARATION OF MAY 1970, NATO MINISTERS CALLED FOR EXPLORATORY TALKS. FOLLOWING INDICATIONS OF INCREASING SOVIET INTEREST IN THE SPRING OF 1971, THE NATO ALLIES OFFERED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO MOSCOW AND OTHER WARSAW PACT CAPITALS TO EXPLORE THE SUBJECT. THE EXPLORER WAS NEVER RECEIVED. BUT THE PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF ALL THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN PURSUING THIS OBJECTIVE, INCLUDING PRESIDENT NIXON'S 1972 TALKS IN MOSCOW AND A LATER VISIT TO THE USSR BY DR. KISSINGER, ULTIMATELY RESULTED IN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO TAKE PART IN MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS ON FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE PREPARATORY TALKS WERE HELD IN VIENNA FROM JANUARY 31 UNTIL JUNE 28 OF THIS YEAR. THEY RESULTED IN AGREEMENT TO BEGIN THE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS ON OCTOBER 30, AND CERTAIN PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE SETTLED.

3. LET ME REVIEW FOR YOU WHAT THE MAIN PROCEDURAL POINTS WERE:

A. REPRESENTATIVES OF 19 STATES ARE PARTICIPATING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE: BELGIUM, BULGARIA, CANADA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DENMARK, THE GDR, THE FRG, GREECE, HUNGARY, ITALY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, ROMANIA, TURKEY, THE USSR, THE UK, AND THE US.

B. DECISIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TAKEN BY CONSENSUS AMONG THE FOLLOWING: BELGIUM, CANADA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, THE FRG, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, POLAND, THE USSR, THE UK, AND THE US. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THESE ARE THE PARTICIPANTS WITH FORCES OR TERC

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RITORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THEY ARE DEFINED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER ADOPTED BY THE PREPARATORY TALKS AS "POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS RELATED TO CENTRAL EUROPE." AGREED PROCEDURES EXIST, WHEREBY THE NUMBER OF DECISION-MAKING PARTICIPANTS COULD BE EXPANDED.

C. THE REMAINING STATES ARE PARTICIPATING WITH A SPECIAL STATUS. IN THE VIEW OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS,

THE FUTURE STATUS OF HUNGARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED. DURING THE PREPARATORY TALKS, THE EAST RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES.

D. MEETINGS WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL, AND OPEN ONLY TO THE PARTICIPANTS. THEY WILL BE CHAIRED IN ROTATION, FROM MEETING TO MEETING, BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PARTICIPANTS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. (THUS, OUR FIRST SESSION HERE WAS CHAIRED BY AMBASSADOR BEHREND, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRG, CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF ROTATION BEGUN IN THE PREPARATORY TALKS. THE SECOND SESSION WAS CHAIRED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LUXEMBOURG. FUTURE SESSIONS WILL BE CHAIRED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS, POLAND, ETC.)

E. ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AND CIRCULATE PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER

F. THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ARE ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, AND RUSSIAN.

4. AT THE CLOSE OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS, THE PARTICIPANTS ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCING THE DECISION TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS HERE IN VIENNA ON OCTOBER 30. IT IS WORTHWHILE TO RECALL SEVERAL OTHER POINTS OF AGREEMENT RECORDED IN THAT COMMUNIQUE:

A. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WAS DEFINED AS THE "MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THIS ADMITTEDLY SOMEWHAT UNWIELDY FORMULA WAS A COMPROMISE

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BETWEEN THE FORMULATION "MBFR" WHICH THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE -- LARGELY ON GROUNDS OF ITS FAMILIARITY AND CONVENIENCE -- TO PREFER, AND THE EASTERN FORMULATION. THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE AGREED FORMULA ARE THAT REDUCTIONS WILL BE MUTUAL, FOCUSED ON CENTRAL EUROPE, AND ACCOMPANIED BY "ASSOCIATED MEASURES."

B. THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AN AGENDA FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. NO AGENDA WAS, OF COURSE, AGREED, AND WE DO NOT INTEND IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS TO TRY TO AGREE ON ONE. INSTEAD, PARTICIPANTS WILL RELY ON THE AGREEMENT -- WHICH WAS INCORPORATED INTO THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE -- THAT "ANY TOPIC RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER MAY BE INTRODUCED FOR NEGOTIATION BY ANY OF THOSE

STATES WHICH WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISION." WE
REGARD THIS AS A HIGHLY SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE FOR AN
AGENDA.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 INR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00

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LIMDIS - MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

C. THE COMMUNIQUE DEFINED THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF
THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS "A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP" AND
"THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE."

D. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO REGISTERS THE AGREEMENT OF
THE PARTICIPANTS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY.

5. NOW LET ME TURN TO THE OPENING OF THE PRESENT
NEGOTIATIONS. OUR FIRST SESSION OPENED WITH A GRACIOUS
WELCOMING SPEECH BY THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR.
KIRSCHLEAGER. IN REPLY, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST
PLENARY, AMBASSADOR BEHREND, EXPRESSED APPRECIATION ON BE-
HALF OF ALL 19 DELEGATIONS FOR THE HOSPITALITY OF THE
AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND THANKS FOR ITS GENEROUS ASSIS-
TANCE IN PROVIDING APPROPRIATE FACILITIES FOR THE NEGO-
TIATIONS.

6. THE REMAINDER OF THIS SESSION, AND SUBSEQUENT
PLENARY SESSIONS, WERE TAKEN UP WITH THE PRESENTATION
OF NATIONAL OPENING STATEMENTS. THESE STATEMENTS WERE
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OF A GENERAL, PROGRAMMATIC NATURE. I BELIEVE THE TEXTS
HAVE BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU.

7. I SHOULD LIKE TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE CONTENTS
OF THESE STATEMENTS. THE WESTERN STATEMENTS REPRESENT,
OF COURSE, THE VIEWS OF THE INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS CON-
CERNED. THEY ALSO REFLECT, HOWEVER, THE COMMON VIEW OF
THE NATO ALLIES TAKING PART IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. LET ME TRY TO PULL TOGETHER FOR YOU THE MORE
SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF THIS COMMON ALLIED VIEW, AS
REFLECTED IN THE STATEMENTS:

A. NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE
REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE ARE A NATO INITIATIVE.
THEY RESULT FROM A PROPOSAL FIRST MADE BY ALLIED GOVERN-
MENTS AT REYKJAVIK IN JUNE 1968.

B. THESE NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE IN A CLIMATE
OF IMPROVING EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

C. THEY ARE AT THE SAME TIME A CRITICAL TEST OF
WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE NOT READY
TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TO MODERATE THE EAST-WEST CON-
FRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THUS, THEY ARE A VALID
TEST OF THE GENUINENESS OF DETENTE IN EUROPE.

D. THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS
IS CENTRAL EUROPE. THAT IS WHERE THE CONCENTRATION OF
MILITARY FORCES IS GREATEST.

E. THE PURPOSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS TO ACHIEVE
A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHILE MAINTAINING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY
FOR ALL PARTIES.

F. OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IS APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN
THE TWO SIDES IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ON
GROUND PERSONNEL IN CENTRAL EUROPE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT
COMBAT CAPABILITIES. IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE
SUBJECT MATTER, WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS GOAL TO BE
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REALIZED IN ONE NEGOTIATING PHASE. THUS, WE INTEND INITIALLY TO FOCUS ON REDUCTIONS OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, LEADING TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL.

G. TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, A REDUCTION AGREEMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT MAJOR DISPARITIES FAVORING THE WARSAW PACT IN GEOGRAPHY, MANPOWER AND CHARACTER OF OPPOSING FORCES.

H. TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND TO ENHANCE STABILITY, OTHER MEASURES BESIDES REDUCTIONS WILL BE NEEDED. THESE INCLUDE MEASURES TO ENHANCE STABILITY, VERIFY REDUCTIONS, AND GUARD AGAINST CIRCUMVENTION.

I. AGREED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD NOT REDUCE SECURITY IN OTHER AREAS, NOR PREJUDICE THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

J. WE RECOGNIZE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, BUT ARE CONFIDENT THAT AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE.

9. I SHOULD NOW LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE EASTERN STATEMENTS. (BY AND LARGE, WE FIND THEM POSITIVE IN TONE AND INDICATIVE OF THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE EVIDENTLY APPROACHING THESE NEGOTIATIONS. OF COURSE, AT THIS STAGE THEY ARE QUITE GENERAL IN CONTENT; THEY GIVE LITTLE INDICATION OF WHAT THE EASTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS MAY BE. AND IT IS TOO EARLY TO LOOK FOR EASTERN REACTIONS TO THE INDICATIONS WE HAVE GIVEN THEM OF THE WESTERN APPROACH. WE WILL OF COURSE BE SEEKING GREATER CLARITY ON THESE POINTS AS WE PROCEED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.)

10. NOW THAT THE OPENING ROUND OF STATEMENTS HAS BEEN COMPLETED, WE EXPECT TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS DISCUSSION WILL TAKE PLACE IN PLENARY SESSIONS OVER THE COMING WEEKS. WE EXPECT SUCH SESSIONS WILL BE HELD AT REGULAR INTERVALS -- PROBABLY TWO TO THREE TIMES PER WEEK AT THE OUTSET. THEY ARE, OF COURSE, CONFIDENTIAL, AND WE WILL NOT BE RELEASING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTUAL TEXTS OF STATEMENTS MADE IN THESE SESSIONS. WE WILL, HOWEVER, BE GIVING PRESS BRIEFINGS FROM TIME TO TIME ON THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THESE DISCUSSIONS.

(THE MATERIAL IN BRACKETS IS SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION IN

THE LIGHT OF THE ACTUAL CONTENT OF THE EASTERN STATEMENTS)
END TEXT
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